

## Message Text

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65

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 EUR-12 EA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00

DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 OES-03

H-02 INR-07 L-03 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 BIB-01 NRC-05

NEA-10 AF-06 /114 W

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O R 300020Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3365

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MEXICO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

ERDA GERMANTOWN

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EO 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: NPT REVCON: FINAL DECLARATION

1. AFTER GIVING DELS AN HOUR TO STUDY HER DRAFT FINAL  
CONFERENCE DECLARATION (GENEVA 4029), CONFERENCE  
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PRESIDENT THORSSON CONVENED MEETING WITH REPS FROM US,

UK, USSR, CANADA, MEXICO, PHILIPPINES, ROMANIA, AND NIGERIA. SHE INTRODUCED HER DRAFT BY NOTING THAT ALL DELS WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY FIND FORMULATIONS THAT WERE NOT IDEAL FROM THEIR POINT OF VIEW. SHE HOPED, HOWEVER, THAT GIVEN OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE OF PRODUCING AGREED FINAL ACT AND APPARENT INABILITY TO PRODUCE ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME ANY OTHER WAY, DELS COULD LIVE WITH DOCUMENT WITH ONLY SLIGHT MODIFICATIONS. SHE ENCOURAGED ANY DEL THAT HAD PROBLEMS WITH DOCUMENT TO REGISTER ITS DISSENT OR ISSUE ANY NECESSARY INTERPRETATIONS IN CONFERENCE RECORDS.

2. ARTICLE-BY-ARTICLE REVIEW OF DOCUMENT FOLLOWED, WITH RESULTS SHOWN GENEVA 4042. MOST OBJECTIONS CAME FROM MEXICANS, ROMANIANS, AND SOVIETS GARCIA ROBLES (MEXICO) WANTED TO INTRODUCE ELEMENTS OF MEXICAN RESOLUTION ON NEGOTIATION OF ARTICLE V AGREEMENTS AND GENERALLY ARGUED FOR STRONGER AND MORE POINTED FORMULATIONS ON ARTICLES VI AND VII. ROMANIAN REP ALSO EXPRESSED STRONG MISGIVINGS THAT WORDING WAS TOO WEAK ON ARTICLE VI AND SECURITY ASSURANCES. SOVIET DEL OBJECTED TO MANY FORMULATIONS, INCLUDING FOLLOW-ON SALT NEGOTIATION, CALL ON NWS PARTIES (RATHER THAN ALL NWS) TO REACH AGREEMENT ON CTB, AND BIENNIAL REVIEW. IN VIRTUOSO PERFORMANCE, THORSSON OVERRULED VIRTUALLY ALL OF THEIR SUGGESTED CHANGES, ARGUING FORCEFULLY THAT ONCE SIGNIFICANT SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES WERE ACCEPTED FROM ONE SIDE, THERE WOULD BE DEMANDS FOR CHANGES ON OTHER SIDE OF ISSUE. OPENING UP DOCUMENT IN THIS WAY WOULD MAKE CONCLUSION OF GENERALLY -ACCEPTABLE DOCUMENT IMPOSSIBLE.

3. US SUCCEEDED IN OBTAINING INSERTION, IN 6TH PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH, QUALIFYING LANGUAGE FROM TREATY PREAMBLE; IN ADDING "UNDER ADEQUATE SAGEGUARDS" TO FINAL CLAUSE IN SECTION ON PURPOSES; IN LIMITING CTB LANGUAGE (FOURTH PARAGRAPH UNDER ARTICLE VI) TO EXPRESSION OF HOPE THAT THE NWS PARTY TO THE TREATY "WILL TAKE THE LEAD IN REACHING AN EARLY SOLUTION OF THE TECHNICAL AND POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES" ON THIS ISSUE; IN MAKING CLEAR THAT THE DESIRE FOR A 3-POWER TEST BAN WAS NOT A CONFERENCE VIEW BUT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RATHER ONE "EXPRESSED BY A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS AT THE CONFERENCE"; IN REMOVING THE INDICATION THAT THE TTB LANGUAGE ON LIMITING NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS TO A MINIMUM WAS AN AGREEMENT BY WHICH WE WERE NOW LEGALLY BOUND; AND IN CHANGING THE LAST SENTENCE OF THE TEST BAN PARAGRAPH TO REMOVE THE REFERENCE TO PROMPTING THE OTHER NWS TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE CONCLUSION OF A CTB.

4. DELEGATON ALSO SUCCEEDED IN MODIFYING A SUGGESTED CHANGE IN THE REFERENCE TO SC RES. 255 THAT WOULD HAVE WEAKENED THE LANGUAGE AND MADE IT LESS SATISFACTORY TO JAPAN; AND IN REDUCING THE SENTENCE ON SECURITY ASSURANCES IN NFZ CONTEXT TO A NOTATION THAT THEY WERE "URGED BY A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS AT THE CONFERENCE."

5. ONE CHANGE WE WERE UNSUCCESSFUL IN GETTING WAS MODIFICATION OF THE STATEMENT THAT "THE CONFERENCE LOOKS FORWARD TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF FOLLOW-ON NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER LIMITATIONS OF, AND SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS IN, THEIR NUCLEAR WEAPONS SYSTEMS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSION OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT." ALTHOUGH WE PRESSED FOR THE AUTHORIZED LANGUAGE, MEXICAN DELEGATE WAS EQUALLY INSISTENT ON USING UNGA LANGUAGE RELATING TO IMPORTANT QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS AND SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS, AND THE PRESIDENT REFUSED TO CHANGE HER TEXT, NOTING THAT IT ONLY SPOKE OF WHAT THE CONFERENCE LOOKED FORWARD TO.

6 THE ONLY OTHER CHANGE WE FAILED TO GET WAS A QUALIFICATION OF THE SENTENCE IN THE FOURTH PARAGRAPH ON ARTICLE VII TO THE EFFECT THAT INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED NUCLEAR WEAPON FREE ZONES ON THE INITIATIVE AND WITH THE AGREEMENT OF THE DIRECTLY CONCERNED STATES OF THE ZONE "COULD" (RATHER THAN DID) REPRESENT AN EFFECTIVE MEANS OF CURBING THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HOWEVER, WE WILL STATE FOR RECORD (SEE BELOW THAT NFZ'S, TO BE EFFECTIVE NON-PROLIFERATION TOOL, SHOULD MEET OUR CRITERIA.

7. ALL IN ALL, WE THINK THE DOCUMENT IS REMARKABLY POSITIVE AND DESIRABLE FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, AND ARE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CONVINCED THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO MODIFY IT WOULD UPSET THE DELICATE COMPROMISE THAT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN REACHED, WOULD RESULT AT BEST IN CHANGES THAT WOULD CAUSE US FAR GREATER DIFFICULTIES THAN THE PRESENT TEXT, AND WOULD RUN VERY HIGH RISK OF OUR ENDING UP WITH NO AGREED PRODUCT OF CONFERENCE.

8. THE PRINCIPAL OBSTACLE TO ADOPTION OF THE DECLARATION IS THE ATTEMPT BEING MADE BY GARCIA ROVLES AND THE COSPONSORS OF HIS RESOLUTIONS TO COUPLE THEIR ADOPTION WITH THAT OF THE FINAL DECLARATION IN A PACKAGE DEAL. ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT THORSSON SOUGHT TO PROMOTE THIS RESULT, SOVIETS ADAMANTLY REFUSED, AND CONFERENCE RESULT CURRENTLY HUNG UP ON THIS ISSUE. DELEGATION BELIEVES THIS HURDLE PROBABLY WILL BE OVERCOME

TOMORROW. WE WILL NOT CONCUR IN ANY SOLUTION THAT WOULD GO BEYOND TRANSMITTAL OF THE TEXTS OF THE MEXICAN PROPOSALS, AND WILL EXPLICITELY STATE THAT WE DO NOT IN ANY WAY SUPPORT THEIR CONTENTS.

9. WE ASSUME DECLARATION WITHOUT ANY FURTHER CHANGES WILL BE ADOPTED AT MY 30 AFTERNOON PLENARY SESSION, AND WE PLAN TO MAKE STATEMENT WHICH (A) POINTS OUT WHY US WAS NOT ONE OF THOSE DELEGATIONS SUPPORTING INTERIM TEST BAN MEASURE, (B) REITERATES OUR FORMULATION DEALING WITH FOLLOW-ON SALT NEGOTIATIONS ON "FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS," (C) EMPHASIZER OUR CRITERION THAT NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES MUST NOT DETRACT FROM EXISTING SECURITY ARRANGMENTS, OUR POSITION ON INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT OF PNE'S IN NFZ'S, AND OUR POSITION THAT WE CANNOT MAKE SECURITY ASSURANCE COMMITMENTS BEFORE SCOPE AND CONTENT OF NFZ ARRANGMENTS WORKED OUT AND THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO EVALUATE NFZ ARRANGEMENTS ON CASE-BY-CASE BASIS, AND (D) NOTES THAT OUR WILLINGNESS TO HAVE PROTOCOLS TRANSMITTED TO TREATY PARTIES DOES NOT IN ANY WAY IMPLY ENDORSEMENT OF THEIR CONTENT.

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## Message Attributes

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